

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BOGOTA 02453 01 OF 02 171737Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 171645Z MAR 75  
FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7579

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BOGOTA 2453

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CO  
SUBJECT: ROGERS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO

DEPT PASS TO SECRETARY FROM ASST SEC ROGERS

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR VAKY, DCM WHITE AND I MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER LIEVANO SUNDAY EVENING FOR TWO AND A HALF HOURS. HE LOOKS FORWARD TO HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON WHICH HE HOPES CAN BE THE FIRST WEEK IN APRIL. A SOLUTION TO THE CUBAN SANCTIONS ISSUE IS UPPERMOST IN HIS MIND, AND HE WILL WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT IT. EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT ONE OR TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT BLOCK OASGA ACTION ON A TWO-STEP VOTING FORMULA WITH TECHNICAL LEGAL OBJECTIONS, HE MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR ANOTHER TRY AT A STRAIGHT TWO-THIRDS VOTE IN LIFTING SANCTIONS. HE RETURNED AGAIN AND AGAIN TO THE THEME THAT IF THE US HELPED ON THAT IT WOULD WORK AND IT WOULD BE THE KIND OF GESTURE THAT WOULD DRAMATICALLY STRENGTHEN THE US IMAGE. ON OAS MATTERS GENERALLY, HE AGREED THAT GENERAL DEBATE OUGHT TO BE ELIMINATED, AND THOUGHT THAT CHANGES IN PRACTICE AND ADMINISTRATION WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN LEGAL AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES. HE SEES A "HORSE RACE" FOR THE SEC-GENERAL POST. HE FAVORS AN OASGA COMPROMISE ACTION ON THE CHILEAN-HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION SOMEWHERE BETWEEN A WHITEWASH AND SANCTIONS. HE WAS RELAXED ON THE TRADE ACT; HE DID STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF A FORTHCOMING US ATTITUDE IN THE IMPENDING BILATERAL TEXTILE TALKS AND US SUPPORT FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT. HE WILL CONFIRM PRESIDENT LOPEZ PREFERENCES ON OUR SUGGESTED  
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PAGE 02 BOGOTA 02453 01 OF 02 171737Z

DATES FOR A STATE VISIT, THOUGH LIEVANO BELIEVES SEPTEMBER 9-11

BEST. END SUMMARY.

2. TRADE ACT, TEXTILES, COFFEE, LIEVANO FIRST SPELLED OUT COLOMBIA'S RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE TRADE ACT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT ITEMS OF POTENTIAL EXPORT SIGNIFICANCE FOR COLOMBIA WERE EXPORT-SENSITIVE ITEMS SUBJECT TO QUOTA-TEXTILES, SHOES-AND COLOMBIA WOULD THEREFORE NOT BENEFIT GREATLY FROM THE PREFERENCE LEGISLATION. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TEXTILE NEGOTIATIONS, BEGINNING AGAIN ON MARCH 31ST, AND HE URGED US TO TAKE A MORE CONCILIATORY AND FORTHCOMING POSITION ON A NEW COFFEE AGREEMENT. HE SAID COLOMBIA STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE NEED FOR A NEW COFFEE AGREEMENT AMONG CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS, BUT US PASSIVENESS IN LONDON OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS HAD NOT BEEN HELPFUL. I SAID THAT I HAD RECENTLY MET WITH THE BRAZILIANS AND WE UNDERSTOOD THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD A REPORT OF THAT MEETING FROM THE GOB. I THOUGHT HE WOULD FIND THE US MORE FORTHCOMING ON COFFEE.

3. CUBAN ISSUE. LIEVANO THEN JUMPED ON THE CUBAN ISSUE, AND HE HARDLY LEFT IT FOR THE REST OF THE EVENING. HE ARGUED THAT THE ISSUE OF SANCTIONS SHOULD BE RESOLVED. FAILURE TO DO SO WOULD CAUSE FURTHER DAMAGE TO THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, WHICH COLOMBIA VALUED HIGHLY. THERE WERE TWO POSSIBLE FORMULAE FOR RESOLVING IT: A STRAIGHT VOTE TO LIFT THE SANCTIONS, REQUIRING TWO-THIRDS OR THE LIEVANO TWO-STEP METHOD TO CHANGE THE VOTING REQUIREMENT TO A MAJORITY AND THEN A REPEAL OF THE SANCTIONS BY THE MAJORITY VOTE. WHILE EITHER WOULD DO, HE FEARED THAT LEGAL OBJECTIONS WOULD BE RAISED TO THE TWO-STEP FORMULA BY COUNTRIES SUCH AS CHILE AND URUGUAY, WHO MIGHT ARGUE THAT THIS WAS IN EFFECT A REFORM OF THE RIO TREATY WHICH WOULD REQUIRE INDIVIDUAL RATIFICATION BY EACH GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD THUS DELAY THINGS AND END IN NO ACTION BY OASGA. HE DID NOT MENTION BRAZIL, OF COURSE, BUT THAT WAS INDEED SILVEIRA'S ATTITUDE.

4. LIEVANO THEREFORE MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT THE STRAIGHT TWO-THIRDS VOTE. WE WERE ONLY TWO VOTES SHORT, HE SAID, AND THE US MIGHT PROVIDE ONE OF THOSE OR HELP ATTAIN TWO MORE. A VOTE LIFTING SANCTIONS WOULD, OF COURSE, BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE US BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP OR NON-RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA. EVERYONE UNDERSTOOD THAT WE HAD A NUMBER OF BILATERAL CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BOGOTA 02453 01 OF 02 171737Z

PROBLEMS WITH CUBA. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE US WOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN BREAKING THE OAS LOGJAM ON THE SANCTIONS ISSUE, IT WOULD BE A CONSIDERABLE PLUS FOR OUR POSITION IN THE HEMISPHERE. HE STRESSED SEVERAL TIMES THAT THIS WAS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE US TO MAKE A DRAMATIC AND STATESMANLIKE GESTURE THAT WOULD ALTER THE MOOD OF THE HEMISPHERE AND THE OAS DRAMATICALLY.

5. LIEVANO'S VISIT. NOTING THAT YOU HAD REFERRED TO THE CUBAN QUESTION IN YOUR TEXAS SPEECH, I SAID THAT LIEVANO'S VISIT WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO RAISE THE CUBAN ISSUE WITH YOU, SINCE WE HOPED HIS VISIT CAN BE ARRANGED FOR THE FIRST WEEK IN APRIL. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE CONVENIENT FOR HIM. WE AGREED TO CHECK WITH YOU AND ADVISE HIM.

6. AS. AS TO THE OASGA, HE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD SUPPRESS THE GENERAL DEBATE, AND ARRANGE INSTEAD AN OFF-THE-RECORD, INFORMAL CONVERSATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS. HE WONDERED WHETHER WE COULD PERSUADE THE SMALLER COUNTRIES. HE DOES NOT HAVE A STRONG VIEW AS TO THE VARIOUS OAS SECRETARY-GENERAL CANDIDATES. BUT HE SEES A HORSE RACE, NOT A COALESCING AROUND ORFILA, WHOM HE INCIDENTALLY LIKES.

7. HE IS FLATLY AGAINST SELA. HE OPPOSES IT BECAUSE IT WILL ERODE THE POWER AND PRESTIGE OF THE OAS. HE KNOWS HE WILL NOT BE PERSUASIVE IN HIS OPPOSITION. HE THINKS THAT ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL ARE LIKEWISE AGAINST IT. I DID NOT TELL HIM THAT HE WAS RIGHT ON THE FIRST AND WRONG ON THE SECOND. (COMMENT: ON SELA, WE DOUBT THAT LIEVANO'S FLATLY STATED OPPOSITION REPRESENTS THE GOC POSITION. ALTHOUGH COLOMBIA IS FAR FROM ENTHUSIASTIC, IT IS NOT LIKELY TO OPPOSE IT AND MAY WELL GO ALONG WITH VENEZUELA. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CABINET APPEAR TO FAVOR IT AND IT WAS FINANCE MINISTER BOTERO WHO INITIALED A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SELA WHEN HE MET WITH THE VENEZUELAN FINANCE MINISTER RECENTLY ON THE BORDER).

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY.

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PAGE 01 BOGOTA 02453 02 OF 02 171845Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BOGOTA 2453/2

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8. HE IS PERSUADED THAT THE OAS MUST BE STRENGTHENED. BUT STRUCTURAL AND VERBAL CHANGES IN THE CHARTER WONT DO THE TRICK- ONLY REAL CHANGES IN PRACTICES AND IMPROVEMENTS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY BUREAUCRACY.

9. HE WOULD AGREE TO A DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL IN THE OAS. HE IS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT MOVING SOME OF THE ORGANIZATION TO LATIN AMERICA. HE DOES THINK THAT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES COULD BE FRUITFULLY CONDUCTED OUTSIDE WASHINGTON. BUT HE DID NOT OFFER TO HOST THE NEXT. HE WILL STAY FOR AS MUCH OF THE MAY MEETING AS IS NECESSARY.

10. PANAMA MEETING. WE TALKED ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE PRESIDENTS OF VENEZUELA, COSTA RICA AND COLOMBIA IN PANAMA. I TOLD HIM OF MY APPREHENSIONS THAT IT MIGHT PRODUCE NOISY SUPPORT FOR PANAMAS ASPIRATIONS WHICH WOULD DISTURB THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE PROMISED ME SOLEMNLY THAT THIS WOULD NOT HAPPEN. TORRIJOS HAS A CLEAR IDEA OF WHERE HE IS GOING. THERE WILL BE NO DECLARATION AT THE PANAMA MEETING REGARDING SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS TORRIJOS WANTS IT, ALTHOUGH SOME "MORAL SUPPORT" STATEMENT MIGHT BE MADE.

11. LOPEZ VISIT. HE THINKS PRESIDENT WOULD PREFER SEPTEMBER 9-11 RATHER THAN SEPTEMBER 3-4. HE WILL CONFIRM THIS WITH THE PRESIDENT.

12. CHILE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. BECAUSE COLOMBIA HAS MAINTAINED A BALANCED INTEREST IN CHILE, I ASKED HIM NOW BE THOUGHT THE OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION REPORT SHOULD BE HANDLED. IT IS NOW ON THE OASGA AGENDA. THE OASGA RESULTS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BOGOTA 02453 02 OF 02 171845Z

SHOULD BE SOMEWHERE BETWEEN A WHITWASH AND SANCTIONS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD POINTED OUT TO FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL IN QUIOTO--AGAIN, LIEVANOS CUBAN PREOCCUPATION--THAT IT WOULD BE EASIER TODAY TO VOTE SANCTIONS AGAINST CHILE IN THE OAS THQN AGAINST CUBA. SO HE IS NOW FEARFUL THAT, IF THE OASHRC REPORT IS NOT HANDLED WITH CARE AT THE MAY MEETING, IT MIGHT ACTUALLY TRIGGER SANCTIONS VOTE, PARTICULARLY IF THE CUBAN SACNTIONS ISSUE IS NOT RESOLVED BY THEN. I GATHER HE THINKS SOME COUNTRIES, POSSIBLY MEXICO, MIGHT IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES WANT TO TAKE IT OUT ON CHILE. ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL WILL BE IMPORTANT. HE URGED THAT YOU TALK WITH THEM ABOUT THE MATTER WHEN YOU PASS THROUGH. AND HE WILL THINK ON IT BEFORE HIS WASHINGTON VISIT. HE SENSES, BY THE WAY, THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME LIBERALIZATION IN CHILE LATELY. HIS JUDGMENT IS WORTH SOMETHING, BECAUSE COLOMBIA IS DEEPLY MIRED IN THE PROBLEM. ITS EMBASSY IS ONE OF THE POPULAR HAVENS FOR ASYLEES. VAKY

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY.

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